1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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kal·en). Abortions are rarely sought, however, even among unmarried women, and are ordinarily performed only in conjunction with an act of witchcraft known as *kuftun*, the aim of which is to render a worthless lover impotent or sterile.

I was told of no current pregnancy tabus, but Cooper stated: "It was taboo for an expectant mother to stand on the threshold of the hut";[6] and Guevara said that pregnant women were not allowed to visit the sick, watch hockey games or races, or partake of certain foods lest they bear twins.[7] All sources agree that intercourse is not forbidden during the period of gestation.

If a mother of small youngsters finds herself with child, she is likely to prepare them for the coming event by saying that a bird appeared to her in a dream and promised to send the family a new baby for a playmate. She then asks the children to be good to the infant when it arrives. Conventionally, Araucanian children are supposed to be ignorant of the circumstances pertaining to childbirth, and they are not permitted to be present when a birth takes place.

PARTURITION

Unlike the custom of earlier days,[7] a contemporary mother is expected to bear her children within her own *ruka*, and some of the more sophisticated women even go to maternity hospitals in the cities. The process of childbearing is called *cheyüin*. On the reservations when the time for delivery draws near, a section of the house is set apart, and no one may come there except those who are assigned to help the patient. Young children are particularly forbidden to approach or touch their mothers, and it is the common practice for all housemates who are not assisting with the case to absent themselves as soon as labor begins.

A parturient woman is usually attended by a midwife or a

[6] Cooper, 1946, p. 731.
[6] Guevara, 1911, p. 185.
[7] There is a sharp contrast between the childbirth customs reported by informants in 1948 and the harsh picture drawn in Latcham, 1909, pp. 359–60.

I: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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THE LIFE CYCLE. II. ADOLESCENCE TO DEATH

PREMARITAL SEX CUSTOMS[1]

WHEN a youth achieves adulthood, he is given much advice by older men. He is cautioned not to overindulge in sexual activity, but he is by no means urged to remain celibate until married. Young women, similarly, are taught not to offer themselves too freely, but they are not told to cherish virginity, except in the case of Christian families. Masturbation is said to be indulged in by boys, but, although some informants felt that the practice is increasing, all agreed that it is not widespread. Homosexuality is reported to be moderately common among young girls in the spring. According to a typical native opinion expressed during a discussion, these habits indicate that such youngsters are ready to be married. Bestiality, pederasty, and sodomies are not infrequently mentioned in the literature, particularly in conjunction with shamanism,[2] but little was said or known about these practices at present. One informant did volunteer the statement that sodomy with ewes was becoming fairly common, and he attributed its origin to the Argentine, where, he claimed, the act was performed with female llamas. On the whole sodomy is considered dangerous and likely to cause disease, but bachelors observed in the act are simply advised to get married.

A girl with a high mound of Venus is considered particularly attractive. It is conventional for men to seek out and choose as mistresses or wives such girls as they find desirable, but women are not supposed to take the initiative in selecting lovers. When a man finds an opportunity for intercourse he acts promptly. There is no anticipatory fondling or "petting" and not much time is devoted to preliminaries.[3] Consummation

[1] This section comprises material obtained from several informants, of whom the principal one was J. M. Collío.

[2] Latcham, 1910, p. 629-30.

[3] One old-time polygynist, who had observed the conventional politeness and deference of Euro-American males, expressed wonder that they ever succeeded in gaining possession of a woman.

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Chile

puberty: a prepuberty boy is spoken of as "a growing-up boy" and is addressed as "little man"; after his voice has changed, he is addressed as "young man" (wiche weuru) and is spoken of as "single man" or "unmarried man." A girl before her first menstruation is spoken of as "a growing-up girl" and is addressed as "little woman"; after first menstruation as "young woman" (ülche) and also as "unmarried woman" or "single woman" (ñuke pura). Only an occasional mother instructs a daughter regarding first menstruation and motherhood; in instances an older sister of the girl has been known to do so. Quoting Araucanian women: "We do nothing for a girl when she is that way for the first time. Since the mother has said nothing to her girl about it, the girl gets frightened and does not tell anyone; a girl is ashamed to tell about it. I know a girl who was so frightened that she did not get sick again for two years. If the mother takes notice that the girl no longer gets her monthly, she gives her a tea of culantrillo, chinkiel, and pavta ephemera; or if a girl is old enough and has not yet taken sick, her mother gives her tea of kudlin anum [unidentified]." Quoting a woman in her eighties: "I know that the Mapuche mothers did not instruct their daughters. Now that I am getting old, I have often told young mothers to tell their 14- and 15-year-old girls about it. When a girl does not know what has happened to her, she worries and dries up inside. It was a Chilean girl who told me about it when I was young; I had worried much. She said all women had it; when I knew that, I stopped worrying."

There are no taboos regarding eating off dishes used by a menstruating woman; nor is it believed that one's clothing will be contaminated if left in her presence.

Children by themselves and among themselves are modest. Their presence at births—those of brothers and sisters only—however, would hardly meet the standards of modesty set for children of our culture. The only schoolchildren who had not been present at a birth were the youngest in the family, who therefore had had no opportunity of being present, or those who were too young to remember when a younger brother or sister had been born. When they were questioned, it was noted that children younger than 11 years promptly stood up to signify that they had witnessed a birth—the youngest child in the room, a 9-year-old boy, was the first to rise—but several of the boys and girls 14 and 15 years old seemed embarrassed; they delayed standing up, and then did so reluctantly. One boy pointed at his cousin and said, "He should get up, too; I know he was there." The boy then rose. Schoolchildren—girls more often than boys—had also been present at circumcision, ceremonials performed over male adult sick persons. Five had attended one to eight.

10. Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

In general children were modest. When visitors stayed all night, their children and those of the family had to sleep close together—"we all slept on the floor, and there was not much room in most houses." Each child, and each adult, as well, rolled himself up in a rug or blanket, "or whatever they gave us to roll up in," and lay down on the floor alongside of each other. "We must have looked like loaves of bread in an Argentine bread pan. But never did we think of even so much as touching one another."

Neither boys nor girls were given sex instructions. Speaking of sex matters was practically taboo. "We would not talk about it; it was too delicate. Things were very strict formerly. A girl 20 years old knew nothing about sex; today very young girls know everything they should not know. Formerly, if a young man touched a girl, like putting his hand on hers or holding hers, his father had to make a payment in animals to the girl's father." In rare instances, however, a mother or a grandmother told the girl the purpose of menstruation.

The boy's change of voice was taken notice of—"his voice becomes thicker and higher and stronger, and people say of him, 'He is now growing up to be a man,'" but there was no puberty rite, nor was a boy at puberty isolated. An occasional family held a feast. "But it was not a custom to do so," said an 83-year-old man; "there were some people who gave a feast on many occasions, and such people probably gave one on this occasion also."

The two institutional performances, however, namely, the katan kawill and the personality test, described above, might be performed for a boy at puberty. Also, a son who had been so tested when he was very young might be retested at puberty to see what changes, if any, had occurred. The katan kawill, resembling the katawe in that the skin on the back of the head was pierced (*cf.* p. 270), was, on this occasion, performed by a machipe if it were done at a gathering of the people. However, instead of injecting pure urine into the opening of the skin, as was done at the katawe, urine mixed with salt and blood of a strong animal, such as the sparrow hawk (pidoen or fidoen, *cerchneis*) or the puma, was injected. Fresh urine, of either a young boy or girl, had to be used. Occasionally horse grease was also pushed under the skin through the piercing. The purpose of the katan kawill was to make of the boys successful fishermen and hunters. Occasionally, the katan kawill was performed on older men for the same purpose; it was never performed on girls or women. Someone might threaten a boy punishment girl with it; because of fear of it she would then do her weaving or other assigned work.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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also wore stickpins and hair ornaments. Men often decorated with 301
silver ornaments the handles of long knives, their saddles, stirrups, and bridles.

The only silver ornaments I saw were rings. Old informants said that all silver things were confiscated by the Argentine army when it overran the Araucanian lands. A man in his eighties noted that many families owned a boxful of silver things then; "boxes in those days were so long and so high [3 by 2½ by 2½ feet], and were made of hide. It got to the point that whenever word was passed that the soldiers were again on their way to chase us to another place, every family put all its silver things into an olla and buried it; the empty boxes they left behind. Each man marked the buried place of his family's olla in his own way. Every man could have found his own again, but so many of our men were killed, or died before we got back, that some ollas were never again found; much silver was lost. I have heard people say that occasionally someone would see a streak of light, like lightning, shoot up from a place in the earth and then drop again. Those who saw this went to that place and found buried there an olla with silver things. They kept what they found. But I think that was stealing."

Young Argentine men today tell of spending Sunday afternoons and other leisure time looking for burial deposits of silver or digging for silver things in old graves. They speak of these places as chenke (Tehuelche word for burials). Because of a recent superstitious belief that disturbing an old burial will bring death to the one doing so within two years (something which happened to a man who robbed a grave between San Martín de los Andes and Bariloche after Araucanians had foretold his death), fewer graves are being disturbed. In 1952 canal diggers on an estancia came upon graves that contained silver ornaments. They looked at the ornaments but refrained from handling them, shoveled them back into the graves, covered them with dirt, and diverted the canal.

MODESTY, COURTESY, HELPFULNESS, HOSPITALITY

Modesty in women was highly respected and was taught to girls by 864 ●
their mothers. Prostitutes were punished to the extent of being 684
hanged.

An atmosphere of courtesy prevailed everywhere during the present 576
study; it was especially noticeable where old persons were in control. On one occasion an informant, with much concern, suggested to my field assistant that she move into the shade, "for the sun in the moun-

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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activity, primarily to set the stage for a discussion of courtship and the implications of certain social changes for traditional courtship and marriage practices. Examples of illicit love affairs and premarital pregnancy are provided to help in understanding something of the sanctified aspect of marriage and the nature of exogamic organization. Marriage is then discussed in terms of its arrangements, in which section much descriptive data are provided to clarify the relationships which marriage establishes between two kingroups. The arrangement and structural significance of secondary unions are treated at the end of the chapter.

SEXUAL EXPERIENCE AND ATTITUDES

Older Mapuche say that young people today have greater opportunities for sexual activity than formerly. While the accuracy of this statement is somewhat tinged by overtones of moral judgment, it seems an essentially correct observation. Interpersonal contacts have widened in a number of ways. In the period of large unilocal households or *lofche* clusters, families were physically separated from one another and the extended-family groups were relatively self-contained. Young people were considerably more isolated than they are under today's crowded reservation conditions. Furthermore, in the past their contacts with peers were more often supervised by adults than they are today. Nowadays, contacts with a larger and more differentiated peer group are relatively sustained, rather than intermittent as they were several generations ago under different social conditions.

Preschool-age children associate with housemates and children of nearby houses while performing daily chores such as tending animals in pasture. School children participate in these activities in the afternoon and during the summer vacation period. They comprise the senior members of the group and act as its leaders and general counselors, and are founts of information about sexual matters. By and large, these groups are composed of closely related youngsters who are members of the same lineage and who tend not to engage in sexual experimentation among themselves, although they discuss sexual matters avidly.

Children are aware of their parents' sex activities and on occasion make lewd reference to them among their peers. Sexual intercourse between spouses takes place most often in the family dwelling at night.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

833 Although the amount of privacy varies from one household to the next, depending on household composition and living arrangements, it is never great. If any youngster is in doubt about the nature of the 864 sexual act, or makes a remark indicating his ignorance, he is put straight by one of the older boys or girls of the group, usually after prolonged teasing.

831 Sexual intercourse is regarded as a natural part of courtship. Court- [836] ship itself is called *thungun* or *kintun*, words which connote sexual [594] activity as well. They are sometimes used in reference to sexuality among stock animals and domesticated cats and dogs which after [522] mating are said to be married. Other rude parallels between human and animal sexual behavior are also noted and considered humorous. [595] A rutting bullock, for example, might be called a polygynist or a wealthy man for having so many "wives," and polygyny is generally associated with male concupiscence. It is interesting that stock ani- [231] mals, aside from being the subject of much discussion because of their [561] economic and prestige value, actually provide a focus for the deliberation of sexual matters which offsets a reluctance to talk openly about human sexuality under conditions where respect should be maintained toward members of the proximate ascending generation.

881 Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions 864 and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowledge [831] between adolescents and their elders. Fathers counsel their adolescent sons more about honor and adult responsibilities, vaguely preparatory to their marriage, and will lay down the law regarding incest, but very little information about sexual functions passes directly from father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter.

Hence, young people acquire their knowledge of sex through observation and direct experience. During this process they are under [831] the censorship of their parents. There is the notion that sexual desire should not be overindulged, but it is difficult to obtain a clear statement about the limits of indulgence. Premarital sexual activity is [836] expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents restrict their children's opportunities for sexuality in an attempt to keep it within respectable bounds.

835 The incest barrier is theoretically immutable and its transgression unthinkable. Yet there is not complete agreement on all the relation-